# UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

*Editors*

**John Haynes Holmes** **Francis Neilson**

## A Suggestion for Outlawry

*By* JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

## Ethical Problems of Sovietism

*By* EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD

## The American-Japanese Situation

*By* FREDERICK STARR

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# UNITY

**"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"**

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1924 NUMBER 18

**If human civilization is still to be saved, it can only be through the energetic awakening and alliance of the young people of the world, who sweep from the path of progress the monstrous idols of the past, the poisonous prejudices, the tyrannies, the lies. I have little hope of change in the generation which I belong. But my spirit and my heart have always been with the young, who travel always in the forefront, who never tarry, who carry in themselves faith in the future, and who want the sufferings of the old world to be destroyed and a new world, happier and better, to arise.** *—Romain Rolland.*

---

The action of the New York Convention of the Democratic Party on the issue of the Ku Klux Klan is a perfect illustration of what the Party really is—a gang of cheap politicians ready to barter anything for the sake of votes. There were brave and honest words spoken in the debate—the fiery if incoherent passion of the young delegate from Georgia will not soon be forgotten. But this only serves to point the significance of the Convention's action in refusing to name the Klan and thus in going before the country on a platform of hypocrisy. Nor can the closeness of the vote bring comfort to decent partisans of the Democracy! For among the "ayes" were scores if not hundreds of delegates who were moved by no considerations of patriotic honor, but only by the most sordid as also the most familiar political motives. The rest of the platform was of a piece with the Ku Klux plank. There were utterances with which we are in hearty agreement, as for example the denunciations of Republican misgovernment and corruption, and the exposure of Protection iniquities. There were one or two statements which stir our unqualified enthusiasm, as for example the superb pledge to grant independence to the Philippines not "if" or "when" but "immediately." The platform as a whole, however, is as patent a mass of evasion, deception, dishonesty, and sheer "bunk" as the Cleveland platform of the Republicans, and this is saying a good deal. Written all over the document is the hunger for ballots, the setting of traps and snares for the various groups of voters in the nation. One looks in vain for any clear visualization of the needs of a distracted world, any well thought-out program of constructive statesmanship to meet and satisfy these needs. Intelligence and honesty could have produced a platform in one-tenth the number of words, but how long has it been, we wonder, since intelligence and honesty were given seats in a political convention of Democrats or Republicans?

Next to the debate on the Ku Klux Klan, we were most interested in the debate on the League of Nations. If ever there was a complete showing-up of the hopelessness of the League cause in this country, it was here on the floor of the Convention of Woodrow Wilson's party. On the one hand Secretary Baker, of Ohio, in a speech of thrilling passion, demonstrated that the referendum plan as laid down in the Democratic platform and later adopted by the delegates was absolutely unworkable and therefore hopeless. It constituted a postponement of the whole issue to an indefinite future and therefore was tantamount to an abandonment of the cause. On the other hand, Senator Pittman, of Nevada, speaking with scathing irony and a complete mastery of realities, demonstrated that to keep the League of Nations issue in politics, fighting over it at each presidential and congressional election, was to get no-whither. If the Democratic Party were to win overwhelming victories for the next six years, it would still be unable to secure entrance into the League by due governmental action! The net result of the debate, as we have said, was to prove, beyond doubt or cavil, that the League of Nations is dead for good and all so far as this country is concerned. The League, that is to say, in its present form! Whether we like it or not, the situation is what it is, and sensible men will take due notice and act accordingly. UNITY, of course, rejoices over this fact, and regards it as the best possible augury for the speedy establishment of real international peace. The passing of the League leaves an open road for Outlawry. This is the "highway" through the "desert" of world disorder which shall yet be made "smooth" for the footsteps of men.

---

In spite of the literally desperate efforts of the League of Nations to bolster up its administration of Austria and prove its loan policy not to be the grotesque failure which we have foreseen from the beginning, the situation in the unhappy little Viennese Republic is steadily getting worse. Since June 1st, Austria has been passing through what a correspondent on the spot calls "the darkest period since 1919." The despatch continues:

The boom induced by the granting of the League of Nations loan and the beginning of reconstruction has been followed by intense reaction. Bank after bank whose business was built on optimism and hopes instead of on sound capital, has come to smash. During the week (June 30th) the great Depositing Bank, with a score of industries dependent on it, went into the hands of a receiver. So black has been the depression that

critics have questioned whether the whole Austrian reconstruction program was not doomed.

This is the outcome of that wonderful loan made by the League of Nations, hailed everywhere by League advocates as the perfect demonstration of the League's effectiveness and wisdom! This is the precedent on the basis of which the League is now in Hungary, arranging for a loan and the establishment of a League administration in that helpless country! Meanwhile, as banks fail, industries collapse, employees are thrown out of work, and people starve, the international bankers who loaned that $5,000,000 to Austria and who will undoubtedly be delighted to make another loan of the same amount, are drawing their interest regularly every month! What we have in Austria, as now in Hungary, is an invasion of these countries by the bankers, as they were formerly invaded by the armies, of the enemy. What better proof could be had that the League of Nations is simply an agent of Allied financial and imperialistic interests?

---

We wonder what Judge Gary is thinking of Mussolini now. And what the other apologists and defenders of the Italian dictator are thinking! For months past, we have had a steady stream of Americans—most of them of the Gary type, be it said—returning to these shores from Italy, and telling us of the miracles wrought by Mussolini. His overthrow of constitutional government by force of arms, his violent suppression of opposition throughout the country, his organization of black-shirted brigands to maintain his rule, his personal arrogance and pride, even his wanton defiance of the League of Nations following upon his attack on Greece—all these facts have not interested our admiring American visitors. They have seen only the strong hand, the vigorous championship of so-called law and order, the putting down of everything even remotely savoring of radicalism—and they have prayed that one such might arise here in America to rule the land. Now, with a suddenness that is startling, and yet with an inevitability like that of planetary motion, we see the reality of Mussolini and his government. It is anarchy enthroned, bloodshed crowned and diademed, murder sanctified. Like all such movements of violence and horror, it has "o'erleaped itself." It has gone too far in wanton disregard of decency—and the conscience not only of Italy but of the world revolts. Whether Mussolini falls now, or later, makes little difference; he has run his course and soon will disappear. Judge Gary will have to find another hero; Columbia University confer its degrees upon representatives of other tyrannies! We are again reminded of that superb statement of Theodore Parker—"The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice."

---

A distinguished visitor has recently come out of Russia, and makes one more correction of the lies that are still being so busily told about this country. The visitor in question is an Englishman, Sir Martin Conway, and his observations cover a field of peculiar interest, namely, that of art. Sir Martin reports to the *Christian Science Monitor* (June 26, page 11) that "he found almost all the stories of vandalism and acts of wanton damage done during the revolution to be untrue." He stated that the great art collections of the old Tsar's Empire had "not only been preserved, but were greatly extended." Even the famous Romanoff crown jewels were intact—which means that the innumerable stories about their being sold or lost were just so many "yarns," plain, matter-of-fact *lies!* The most remarkable thing discovered by Sir Martin was the number of museums that had sprung up in the new Russia. Whereas, in the days of the Tsar, there were only fifty (50) museums in the whole country, there are now, in the days of the Bolsheviki, no less than two hundred and fifty (250). "Every village," says Sir Martin, "wants its museum"; and those already in existence, are thronged with visitors. All articles of historical or artistic value are being carefully preserved and are controlled by the Commissar of Education, Lunarcharsky, who has under him a staff of highly skilled craftsmen. An interesting side-light on the religious situation appears in this Englishman's story. Speaking of the careful treatment of all ancient monuments, he refers to the three cathedrals in the Kremlin, at Moscow, which have been temporarily closed for cleaning and repairs. "So far as (I) could gather," said Sir Martin, "they were about the only churches in Russia which were closed." It is reports of this kind, by thoroughly reliable observers, which make us realize what horrible savages these Bolsheviki are, anyhow!! Think of what they have done—brought a vast country through revolution, foreign invasions, blockades, famines, conspiracies, with the artistic life of the people, and all their treasures, not only preserved but greatly extended and enriched. Savages? Why, these Bolsheviki are civilized to a degree unknown to our world!

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It is good news that Mahatma Gandhi has so far recovered his health that he is now appearing in public, and taking active part once again in his great movement for Indian emancipation. Thus the May 22nd issue of *Swarajya* reports that Gandhi "made his first public appearance since his release from Yerwada Prison" on May 16th, at Bombay, when he presided over Buddha Jayanti celebrations, and delivered a speech on the "Ideals and Teachings of Buddha." It is stated that Gandhi "appeared in his loin cloth," and was introduced as "one who continued Buddha's work in the world." Very characteristic were the Mahatma's remarks—his modest assurance that he was merely endeavoring "to popularize the truth for which Gautama Buddha lived and died," his idealistic assertion that Buddha "taught Hinduism not to take but to give life."

He then continued in words that we reprint here as a gospel of life quite as much for our western world as for Gandhi's eastern world:

It has become the fashion nowadays in some quarters to say that India's downfall dates from her acceptance of Buddha's teachings. It is tantamount to saying that love and pity, if sufficiently practiced, will degrade the world. In other words, according to the critics, evil should triumph in the end. It is my unalterable belief that India has fallen not because it accepted Gautama's teaching but because it failed to live up to it. Priests, as ever, sacrificed the Prophet. The Veda, to be divine, must be a living word, ever growing, ever responding and ever expanding. The priest clung to the latter and missed the spirit. But we need not despair. The reformation that Buddha attempted has not yet had a fair trial. Twenty-five hundred years are nothing in the life of the world. If the evolution of form takes an aeon, why should we expect wonders in the evolution of thought and conduct? And yet the Age of Miracles is not gone. As with individuals so with Nations. I hold it to be perfectly possible for masses to be suddenly converted and uplifted. Suddenness is only seeming. No one can say how far the leaven has been working. Most potent forces are unseen, even unfelt for long. But they are working none the less surely. Religion to me is a living faith in the supreme Unseen force. That force has confounded before and it is bound to confound us again. Buddha taught us to defy appearances and trust in the final triumph of truth and love. This was his matchless gift to Hinduism and to the world. He taught us also how to do it because he lived what he taught. The best propaganda is not pamphleteering but for each one of us to try to live the life we would have the world to live.

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A mighty interesting point has recently been raised by the *Continent*. Speaking in its issue for March 27th last on the unmistakeable pacifist tendencies in the churches of late, it says—

A veritable drive seems to have been started by Christian pacifists with the intent of constraining from the churches a genuine pledge never again to support the government of the United States in the prosecution of war for any cause or reason whatsoever. This is putting a large mortgage on the future certainly. But it is laying a greater indictment on the past. Such a resolve cannot be registered. . . It is inevitably a confession of great sin in recent years gone. It means that the churches of the United States were wicked when they encouraged their sons to go to the rescue of France.

Yes—it means just that! And just for that reason, be it said, the pacifists are rejoicing "with timbrel and dance" at what is being done these days. These resolutions, pledging the churches against any and all wars in the future are so many vindications of all that the pacifists said and did in the last war. For of course this "last war" may recur. It is more probable than improbable that exactly this same international situation may repeat itself. This the makers of these resolutions know, and *for that reason* are they proclaiming, Never again! They know that they were fooled in this last war—that neither the causes nor the purposes of the conflict were as stated to the public—and that the whole affair, on the one side as on the other, was a betrayal of humanity, and a crime against the people. Yes, "the churches *were* wicked"—let us confess it. And they don't propose, thank God, to be wicked twice.

## A Suggestion for Outlawry

No argument for the Outlawry of War program is so illuminating and convincing, to our way of thinking, as the argument drawn from the analogy of duelling. The parallel is so exact—two nations, like two men, resorting to weapons of violence for the settlement of a dispute which is always tangled up with questions of "honor," whatever these may be! The solution of the problem, by which we mean the correction of the evil, is so identical in the two cases—namely, the outlawing of the institution, war like duelling, by the branding of the practice as a crime and the punishment of the participants as criminals, and the establishment of a "due process" by which disputes between nations as between men can be settled by appeal to reason instead of by appeal to force! Of course, war presents an almost infinitely more stupendous problem than duelling, but the principle involved is the same, and the method of procedure therefore may well also be the same.

We are told, to be sure, that we can't get rid of war until first we get rid of the causes of war. This is true to the extent at least that we cannot get rid of the *occasions* of war until we first get rid of the causes of war. Disputes between nations we shall have just so long as we have competing economic imperialisms, with all their inevitably attendant features of secret diplomacy, competitive armaments, tariff barriers, and nationalisms. Disputes between nations, as also between men, are likely to be with us so long as we also have with us certain not unfamiliar phases of human nature, complicated by certain painfully familiar systems of education. But the question is *not* whether we shall have disputes every now and then, but whether we shall allow these disputes to run wild and loose into armed combat. The two things, the dispute at the beginning and a battle to the death at the end, do not necessarily go together at all. Disputes, like "offenses, must needs come," so long at least as our delightful social system of capitalism at home and imperialism abroad, is tolerated. But the settlement of these disputes, whether by arms or by some other and better way, is for sensible men to decide as they themselves may choose.

Duelling furnishes the perfect illustration! The causes of duelling, or rather of the disputes, that led to duelling, are as much with us today as they ever were in the past. Business competition, family and class rivalries, greed for property, lust for women, contentions and jealous human nature—they are all still busily at work in the unhappy realm of personal relationships. Take any set of circumstances, in the world without or in the soul within, which once led men to "the field of honor," and you can duplicate them almost any time today without great difficulty. Disputes between individuals, in other words, are about as constant now as formerly. The difference is that, whereas these disputes in the old days led straight to conflict with armed

weapons—the ordeal by battle, or the duel as it was later termed—they now lead as straight to the court of law. The causes of disputes, that is, have no necessary connection with the mode of settling disputes. There is no fatalism in this business—no unhappy doom upon us? It is simply a matter of choice, or will, or sheer intelligence. Formerly we were content to let disputes between individuals end in duels for their settlement. Indeed we felt that it was a matter of "honor" that they should so end, and we worked out an elaborate code of procedure by which the fighting method of settling disputes was legalized and sanctified—i.e., institutionalized. Then there came a time when we got tired of this business. Little by little its waste, its injustice, its out-and-out childishness, became apparent—and the practice was thereupon outlawed. Duelling was made a crime—and duellists criminals. At the same time the "code duello" was banished, and the code of legal trial in court, before judge and jury, substituted in its place. And duelling disappeared! The same causes were at work, the same disputes appeared. *But*—the disputes were now settled by methods of orderly procedure, as floods, which have for generations swept a landscape with devastation, are at last drawn into channels which carry them off quietly to the sea.

That what is here proved possible on a small scale, with the evil of duelling, may be proved to be equally possible on a large scale with the evil of war, is so certain, that the only problem now worth discussing, to our mind, is that of the precise machinery for the Outlawry of War. Our own belief is that the more exactly we follow the precedents estabished in the history of duelling and its disappearance, the wiser we shall be. In the one case, as in the other, a practise recognized and sanctioned as a legal institution, must be denounced and punished as a crime. In the one case as in the other, all participants in the practice—the soldier like the duellist—must be outlawed as criminals. In the one case as in the other, a code of law must be established for the proper settlement of all disputes that may arise. In the one case as in the other a court of law, equipped with original and affirmative jurisdiction, must take the place of the arbitrament of arms. But it is not only in these basic matters, that precedents may be followed. In a score and more of fertile details, the experience of society with the evil of duelling similarly points the way to what must be done with the evil of war. We would here give one illustration which has been interesting us much of late!

In the states of the United States where duelling had *formerly* been somewhat generally practiced, it was thought advisable not only to legislate against the institution, but also to bind the executive officers of the commonwealth by solemn oath against it. Thus in the Code of Law of the State of Virginia, there appear the following exceedingly interesting provisions:

Section 269 (prescribes the oath to be taken by "every person entering upon the discharge of any function as an officer of this State.")

Section 270. (Form of oath against duelling where disabilities not removed.)—He shall also at the same time, unless his disabilities shall have been removed by the General Assembly, take and subscribe the following oath: "I swear that I have not, while a citizen of this State, since the tenth day of July, ninteen hundred and two,* fought a duel with a deadly weapon, or sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel with a deadly weapon, either within or beyond the boundaries of this State, or knowingly conveyed such challenge, or aided or assisted in any manner in fighting such duel; and that I will not fight a duel with a deadly weapon, or send or accept a challenge to fight a duel with a deadly weapon, either within or beyond the boundaries of this State, or knowingly convey such challenge, or aid or assist in any manner in fighting such duel during my continuance in office. So help me God." (Code 1887 Sec. 169; 1902-3-4, p. 584.)

Section 271. (A modified oath for officers who are unable to take the oath required by the preceding section.)—When any person elected or appointed to any post or office under the laws of this Commonwealth, including members of the General Assembly, be so situated that he cannot take and subscribe the oath required by the preceding section, such person may take and subscribe in lieu thereof the following oath: "I swear (or affirm) that I have not, since the removal of my disabilities by an act of the General Assembly, approved the ..... day of ....., nineteen ....., fought a duel with a deadly weapon; nor have I been knowingly the bearer of any challenge or acceptance to fight a duel actually fought, nor have I been otherwise engaged or concerned, directly or indirectly, in a duel actually fought since said time, nor will I during my continuance in office be so engaged, directly or indirectly. So help me God." (Code 1887, Sec. 170; 1902-3-4, p. 585.)

This oath in the Code of Virginia, like a similar one, we are informed, in the Code of Kentucky, and perhaps of other states, has a great significance. It puts the individual in question under bonds, so to speak, to obey the law against duelling in a specific way. If he lapses from grace, the oath makes him punishable not only for ordinary crime as a lawless citizen, but also for special crime as a faithless official of government. He is guilty, in other words, of the dreadful offense of violating his oath of office, and thus liable to impeachment and removal from his place of honor. Such penalty is more dreaded than anything else that can befall a man in our democratic social life. It is the final stigma of disgrace—the one unpardonable sin. Few are the men in our state and national history who have fallen to this level of dishonor, and, fewer those who, so doing, have survived the experience.

Now why not incorporate a pledge of this kind against war, into the oath of office taken by every president, premier and foreign secretary throughout the world? Why not provide that the President of the United States, for example, shall solemnly swear that he "will not take (his) nation into war, or send or accept a declaration of war, or aid or assist in any manner in fighting such war during (his) continuance in office"? Why not provide similarly that every Representative and Senator of the United States shall solemnly swear that he "will not vote for a declaration of war, or provide any authorizations or appropriations for such war, or aid or assist in any manner in fighting such war during (his) continuance in office"? Of

* Explained by the fact that on this date the present Constitution of Virginia became operative, but the requirement of an oath in some form against duelling runs back through the Codes of Virginia for over one hundred years.

course the taking of such an oath would have to be imposed upon, or rather accepted by, every country at one and the same time. This idea, like disarmament, will never be adopted and acted upon by any one country alone. But the very genius of the Outlawry scheme is that it is a universal program, to be adopted the world around as a new and permanent basis of international organization to the end of peace. Thus, if Outlawry is adopted at all, this can be adopted with it.

But what is an official oath, you say, as set over against such a cosmic force as that of war? Little, perhaps, in itself; but much as one detail in a great adventurous formulation of law and order in the international field! After all, there is no fundamental reliance in any of these matters, is there, except in that law of natural integrity which "preserves the stars from wrong," and in some divine way keeps final mastery of the lives of men? What is a contract? Nothing but a worded promise; yet most men keep them, and most contracts hold. What is a treaty? Nothing but "a scrap of paper"; yet the majority of treaties are observed, and thus bind the discordant nations of the world together into some kind of common life. What is the Constitution between friends? Nothing; yet it stands triumphantly as the organic law of this great republic, faithfully observed by all but a fraction of its servants and of the people, in all but a fraction of the time. The sanction of Outlawry, in its general program and in its detailed provisions, is the essential decency and honor of human nature. This is the final anchor of our faith, and there are those of us who are not afraid to trust it. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

## Jottings

For the first time in modern political history, there were empty seats at the conventions. Why? The answer is, Radio! Apply this to the churches. Does it not argue that the radio, even more than the automobile, is the enemy of church attendance? We advise ministers to think not twice but many times before they install this latest invitation to dispersal. Unless, of course, they prefer an invisible audience to a visible one!

---

How often it is the little things that tell the story! When the U. S. Department of Justice, during the War, interfered with Charles F. Dole's distribution of the Sermon on the Mount, wasn't the whole truth about that war and all war revealed? So do we find the whole truth about England, India and Gandhi when we read in Rolland's biography of the Mahatma, that one of the books confiscated by the British Government in 1919 in India was Gandhi's translation of "The Apology and Death of Socrates."

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We enjoy reading in the July *Crisis* (page 104) that the North Carolinian student who objected some months ago to a Negro living in the Columbia dormitories, flunked his examinations! The half-wit, after all, runs true to form.

English literary men do themselves honor, as they have done before, in protesting against the banishment of Professor Don Miguel de Unamuno by the Spanish dictator, Rivera. The names of Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, Gilbert Murray, L. T. Hobhouse, W. B. Yeats, H. G. Wells, Sidney Webb and C. H. Herford are signed to a Memorial which reads in part:

> Thereby they intend to affirm not merely their solidarity with the champions of freedom of thought . . . but, further, their special appreciation of the services to knowledge and culture which Professor Unamuno has rendered by his writings, his university work, and his efforts in the cause of workers' education.

---

Mussolini has now declared that he is "ready to govern constitutionally through Parliament . . . to lead Fascismo back to strict legality . . . to follow a policy of national conciliation." When the devil was sick . . . !!!

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Herriot's permission to 300,000 Ruhr exiles to return to their homes, interests us chiefly as showing that this enormous number of German men, women and children were driven out by the bayonets of Poincaré's soldiers. This brutal banishment of unoffending and helpless people was done in time of peace! If the German armies did anything half as bad as this, in Belgium or elsewhere, in time of war, we would like to know what it was. J. H. H.

---

### OUT OF THE EARTH

Out of the earth, and out of the tree,
Strength comes flowing into me;
Out of the brook comes quietude,
Down from the sky comes wisdom's food.

As oft as on the earth I've lain
I've died and come to life again.
For only men who are brave and good
Can come out changeless from a wood.

*Poetry.* —*Mary Carolyn Davies.*

# Ethical Problems of Sovietism

As the Christian is apt to use his own cherished religion for a criterion by which to evaluate the worth or criticize the defects of all other religious systems, so the student of governments, if his own country fosters the doctrines of democracy, is apt to use those doctrines as the criteria for evaluating the worth or criticizing the defects of all foreign governmental systems. That such a practice is totally indefensible is plainly obvious to all political scientists. These gentlemen know that the success and efficiency of a government is not so much dependent upon whether it is a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy, as it is upon the character—the integrity, skill and nobility—of those responsible for that government. A very defective type or system of national administration often results, when placed in the hands of righteous and carefully trained statesmen, in a most admirable government; while, on the other hand, man has not, throughout all the centuries in which he has sought to adjust himself, socially, to this planet, been able to create a system of government so adequate in its organization and functionings that regardless of the character of those placed in public office, justice and efficiency would be assured. We are, therefore, when we seek to evaluate a system of government, provided with no ideal prototype. Not even an efficient administration can be used as our standard, for it has often been noted that national groups have preferred a wasteful and inefficient government to one which was void of these characteristics. What then can be accepted as an adequate measure when one wishes to evaluate a specific form of political administration?

I know of but one, and that one is, perhaps, best expressed in the words of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, when they say:

> It does not suffice that government shall be honest and skilful; if it does not carry with it the popular mind, the consciousness of concent . . .;

or by Harold F. Laski, when he says

> that the only permanent basis of power is action built upon the wills and desires of the mass of men. . . .

Note, however, that this criterion of "the popular mind, the consciousness of concent" does not imply that the demi must have a representative body, direct election, or some similar method through which to voice their desire. Perhaps some dictator — a Mussolini or a Lenin—may be able, through his knowledge of the wishes of his national group, his familiarity with the popular mind, to supply adequately the desires of that group without it having developed agencies for self-expression, the same as a devoted father will often present his son with a dog and bicycle before the lad has reached the point where he will ask for these essentials to his happiness. In other words it is quite possible for even a Soviet dictatorship to meet the requirements advanced by this criterion for judging the merits of any specific form of government. Let us, therefore, equipped with this rather pragmatic standard of measure, turn to a survey of Russia under its proletarian dictatorship, and by applying our criterion, ascertain, if possible, the ethical worth of this new infant in governmental administration.

It seems inadvisable, because of the restricted purpose of this paper, to give more than passing mention to Russia's pre-revolution monarchy. Suffice it to say that it was of the most absolute type, completely buttressed by an elaborate bureaucracy, and firmly founded on the medieval doctrine of the divine right of kings. The following statement made by Nicholas II, the last of the Tsars, in answer to a petition from the Zemstvo of Tver, portrays vividly the autocratic rule under which Russia suffered:

> It has come to my attention that recently some people have been carried away by senseless dreams that the representatives of the Zemstvos should take part in internal affairs. Let it be known to all that I shall guard the autocracy as firmly as did my father.

M. N. Katkov, a distinguished publicist and advocate of the absolutism of the old *régime,* wrote editorially in his paper, the *Moskovskya Vedomost,* on November 2, 1882:

> In our country there is no room for the fictitious assumption resulting from the history of other countries, namely that *le roi règne, mais ne gouverne pas.* The Russian absolute monarch both reigns and governs, and his power is totally free in its fundamentals, being embarrassed or limited by nothing.

Even the revolution of 1905 with its political accomplishment of introducing into Russia's governmental machinery the Duma, did not, to any appreciable extent, eliminate the iron autocratic hand of Tsaristic absolutism.

As for the Provisional Government which was formed at the close of the 1917 revolution—it must in fairness be said that that government was manned by some very able leaders, notwithstanding statements by men like Lewis C. Fraina, to the effect that this group belonged to the bourgeois, capitalistic class, leaders who, we have every reason to believe, had they been able to maintain control, would have given Russia a parliamentary government patterned after the English and French systems. As it was the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat resulted in splitting the members of the Social Democrats into two groups —the majority or Bolshevists, and the minority or Menshevists. This left Russia politically divided into four parties, which N. Lenin, in "The Proletarian Revolution in Russia" has rather cleverly differentiated as follows:

*What are the chief groupings of political parties in Russia?*

A. (More to the right than the Cadets.) Parties and groups more RIGHT than the Constitutional Democrats.

B. (Cadets.) Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets, the National Liberty Party) and the groups closely attached to them.

C. (Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists.) The S. D's, S. R's and the groups closely attached to them.

D. (Bolsheviki.) The party which ought properly to be called the Communist Party, and which is at present termed "The Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, united with the Central Committee"; or, in popular language, the "Bolsheviki."

*What class do these parties represent? What class standing do they express?*

A. The feudal landholders and the more backward sections of the bourgeoisie.

B. The mass of the bourgeoisie, that is, the capitalists, and those landholders who have the industrial, bourgeois ideology.

C. Small entrepreneurs, small and middle-class proprietors, small and more or less well-to-do peasants, petite bourgeoisie, as well as those workers who have submitted to a bourgeois point of view.

D. Class conscious workers, day laborers and the poorest classes of peasantry, who are classed with the proletariat (semi-proletariat).

*What form of government do they want now?*

A. Constitutional Monarchy, absolute authority of the official class and the police.

B. A bourgeois parliamentary republic, i. e., a perpetuation of the rule of the capitalists, with the retention of the official (chinovnik) class of police.

C. A bourgeois parliamentary republic, with reforms for the workers and peasants.

D. A republic of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. Abolition of the standing army and the police; substituting for them an armed people; officials to be not only elected, but also subject to recall; their pay not to exceed that of a good worker.

In the ensuing conflict between these four parties, "D" the Bolsheviki or Communist Party gained control of the government. From this vantage point it then undertook to establish (and succeeded) the dictatorship of the working classes. Mr. F. A. Mackenzie, who has devoted much time to a first-hand study of conditions in Russia, says that by this move the Communists sought to accomplish:

1. The complete abolition of private property in land, including real estate in cities.
2. The abolition of private trading.
3. The expropriation by the State of all means of production and of all sources of wealth, including factories and mines, these to be administered and controlled as far as possible by the working men themselves.
4. The abolition of the old laws, justiciary and courts of justice, to be replaced by People's Courts, presided over by judges "elected by the working masses and solely from the working classes." In the absence of new laws, the judges were to be guided in their decisions and sentences by "the Revolutionary Conscience."
5. The immediate expropriation by the State of national and commercial banks and other financial institutions, the monopolization of banks by the State, the destruction of private credit, and the eventual abolition of money for a system of barter and exchange.
6. The concentration of power in the hands of the working classes by:—
   a. Excluding the bourgeoisie from the electorate.
   b. Placing military power solely in the hands of the workers.
7. The enforcement of the principle that every man and woman of working age must work, the State making itself directly responsible for the maintenance of everybody.

Those responsible for this dictatorship of the proletariat frankly admit that their methods are autocratic, but these methods they justify by saying that

> in order to bring into being the Communist system of society the proletariat must have all power in their hands. They cannot destroy the old order so long as they do not possess this power. In order to accomplish their task they must become the ruling class of the State. (N. Bucharin and E. Preobraschensky in "A. B. C. of Communism.")

Continuing, these same writers say:

> Two or three generations will have to grow up under the new conditions before laws and punishments will cease to be, before the power of the working class State will be unnecessary, before all trace of the capitalist past will disappear. The Proletarian State is necessary till, in the fully-developed Communist system there is left no trace of Capitalism. The proletarian State will disappear with the last remnants of the capitalist system.

"He is no socialist," said Lenin, "who expects the realization of Socialism outside social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat." Finding adequate warrant for their acts in the old doctrine that the end justifies the means, these one-half million members of the highly organized and vigorously disciplined Communist Party continue to rule over the destinies of one hundred and forty millions of peoples, or one-seventh of the world's land area. How is this governmental feat accomplished by so small a group? Merely through applying the old Tsaristic principles.

> "We have a monopoly of legality," says Zinoviev. "We do not grant our opponents political freedom. We do not give the possibility of legal existence to those who pretend to compete with us."

Writing on how the Soviet government retains its control over Russia, Bertrand Russell says:

> No conceivable system of free election would give majorities to the communists, either in town or country. Various methods are therefore adopted for giving the victory to government candidates. In the first place the voting is by show of hands, so that all who vote against the government are marked men. In the second place, no candidate who is not a communist can have any printing done, the printing work being all in the hands of the State. In the third place, he cannot address any meetings, because the halls all belong to the State. The whole of the press is, of course, official; no independent daily is permitted.

In the face of these actual facts the observer of the Soviet Government is forced to admit that so far as the present generation is concerned the Communist Party has given Russia only a highly centralized class dictatorship of the strait-jacket variety. True, the Communists admit that this form is only temporary—a transition government, and that as soon as the bourgeoisie have been fully conquered they will give Russia a communistic administration under which all classes will receive recognition and opportunity. But just how far is one justified in placing confidence in these promises of future justice. Unquestionably the present rulers are sincere in making such promises, but European history is not particularly abundant in its illustrations of dictators who have, without coercion, relinquished their power. And when we bear in mind that a new generation will soon fill the ranks of the old revolutionists, we have a right to ask, What is going to prevent this new generation from becoming a race of bureaucrats? Certain it is that Marxian philosophy contains none of the Platonic safeguards against the ruling class showing favoritism to their own friends or offspring.

The outstanding problems, therefore, which confront the Soviet Government are not those which pertain to organization, the technique or machinery of administration, but rather problems of an ethical nature. Untested as is the machinery of the Soviet Government with its indirect electoral system and its interlocking officiates, it is reasonable to assume that properly manned this machinery would function satisfactorily. The trouble lies in that no effort has been made by the Communist Party to operate it in the interest of the present generation. The Party's effort has been merely that of experimenting with a new governmental adventure.

These dictators have an idealistic theory to which they are anxious to give the pragmatic test. Russia for them is the guinea pig on the laboratory bench of governmental experimentation. They maintain that by forcing the pig to submit to certain restrictions they will be able to give to its unborn offspring an administrative Utopia. The ethical problems involved are: (a) The quadruped strenuously objects to the treatment to which it is being subjected. Have the operators, therefore, a right to continue? (b) The present operators will not live long enough to complete their experiment, hence will have to depend upon others to continue the "good work." Will these others be faithful to their trust? (c) There is no reasonable assurance that the offspring, when born, will appreciate a communistic

Utopia, even if the Communist Party is successful in presenting this present.

Writing as an American, I would not have my readers assume that in mentioning these unpleasant truths about the unethical character of the Soviet Government, I am seeking to influence their opinions in reference to the advisability of the United States establishing diplomatic relationship with Russia's present government. In my opinion the answer to this widely disputed question is best found through a careful study of certain economic factors, rather than through placing undue emphasis upon the relative merits or demerits of a particular governmental system. In saying this I am not unmindful of the fact that a separation of the economic from the governmental becomes exceedingly difficult when one is dealing with a semicommunistic country. The purpose of this paper has been merely to set forth briefly, but I trust clearly, the ethical problems confronting the present proletarian dictators of Russia. When evaluated in accord with our accepted criterion: "the consciousness of concent . . . action built upon the wills and desires of the mass of men . . . ," I believe my readers will agree with me when I say that these ethical problems are exceedingly great.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

# "Grave Consequences"

## Six Articles on the American-Japanese Situation*

FOREWORD.

On April 16, I received a telegram, the principal part of which reads as follows: "Would you like to write six articles of fifteen hundred to two thousand words each presenting your views on Japanese Exclusion Bill and outlining what Japanese think about it?—Wire answer if you accept."

I doubted whether such articles were really wanted and could be sold. However, I felt a certain obligation in the matter and wired my acceptance of the invitation. On April 19 I mailed the entire series. On April 29, I received a telegram, the important part of which reads:

"I regret the articles are so strongly pro-Japanese and involve politics so strongly during a political year that I feel we cannot successfully market this material."

I insist that these articles can hardly be called pro-Japanese. They are a simple inquiry as to what "grave consequences" may be expected to result from the action of the United States Senate on the 15th and 16th days of April. They are written by an American citizen, who as a resident of a Pacific Coast State is interested in the continuance of friendly relations between the United States and the Orient. He recognizes the perfect freedom of our country to manage its own policies, primarily in its own interests. But it is unfortunate, when we are dealing with a delicate matter, if we select the most offensive and insulting methods instead of observing the ordinary courtesies and conventions of diplomacy.

Nor do I see any reason why what I have said is out of place in a "political year." The articles are written from a purely American standpoint. There is nothing of party politics in them. Their value, if they have any, is at this moment when the question is before the public. Perhaps few will care to read them. They may fail to carry conviction. Yet the writer is unwilling that they would not see the light. In pamphlet form they will not reach so many readers as they might have done if widely printed in the press, but possibly they will gain a more thoughtful consideration.—*Frederick Starr, Seattle, Washington, April* 30, 1924.

I.

HYSTERIA IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE

The papers of April 15 announce that "aroused to an angry temper by the threat of Japanese Ambassador Hanihara, the Senate today voted Japanese exclusion in the Immigration Bill by 76 to 2." It was a strange action for slight cause.

The Ambassador's letter referred to certain "grave consequences" which the passage of this bill in the form in which it took would involve. There was no threat in the Ambassador's letter, and no one who thought seriously could read a threat into it. There was a mere statement of fact, which will become more and more evident as time goes on.

The excitable newspaper press and the no less excitable Senators pretend to think that the Ambassador meant "war." Such an opinion is inconceivable. No nation which had passed through the terrible disaster which Japan had suffered, which is devoting her every energy to recovery, and which is out in the world market borrowing money, could possibly mean or think of war in those terms.

Some of the remarks attributed to prominent senators are almost inconceivable, but no doubt they are true.

The effect of the Ambassador's letter of protest was remarkable. When it was read in the Senate, Californian Senators, Johnson and Shortridge, who are fighting for the amendment, declared it was amazing. Senator Moses, who was once Minister to Greece, said he had "never heard anything like it," and expressed surprise that Japan should have been permitted to address a communication in such terms to a "first-rate" power without diplomatic rebuke.

Senator Johnson is said to have issued this statement:

The letter of the Japanese Ambassador is an astounding document. As a Senator, who for many years has been in the diplomatic service, said, it is couched in language such as a nation with suzerainty over another would use. The most astonishing thing about the incident is that our Secretary of State says in effect merely, "I thank you" to the castigation.

Even Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, in charge of the bill, who fought for recognition of the "gentleman's agreement," was compelled to tell the Senate he could support that position no longer in the face of Hanihara's bold declaration of what his country would do if the United States barred the Japanese.

Yet there was actually no threat, no suggestion of castigation, and no bold declaration of what Japan would do.

The only excuse for such an astounding series of declarations and for such a vote in a matter of extraordinary delicacy is the fact that the Senate is in an abnormal condition. It suffers from "nerves." It is in a condition of almost chronic hysteria. The "investigations" which have been going on so merrily for many weeks have brought about a situation which is unfortunate in itself, and which in this case will actually lead to "grave consequences."

In the next vote that was taken the Senate stood almost the same. Four men, however, voted to act sanely and refrain from needless insult of a friendly nation. Their names will be remembered with pride when the nation has seriously thought over the incident. They were Colt, of Rhode Island; Sterling, of South Dakota; MacLaren, of Connecticut, and Warren, of Wyoming. Colt is chairman of the committee on

* These articles—after appearing in the Seattle *Union Record* and Chicago *Journal*—have been put out in pamphlet form by the Seattle Fellowship, an organization one of whose purposes is to promote intelligent understanding of neighboring peoples.

immigration and knew the seriousness of the business. Sterling, of South Dakota, is ending his term and will not be returned to the Senate; he can therefore see things with disinterested eyes. Whatever the motive or influence that led MacLaren and Warren to vote as they did, they have shown good judgment. These four men kept control of their senses when their colleagues forgot themselves.

The President may veto the action of the Senate. He ought to do so. He is, however, in a delicate situation, and must look forward to the future. If election were two years off, there is little question how he would act. As it is, it is uncertain. Of course, the houses of Congress would pass the bill over his veto, but for him to refuse to sign it in its present form would give time for consideration, and would lead to a more just and dignified expression on the part of congressmen.

Newspapers are inclined to belittle the matter. One of the most important newspaper editors in the country refers to the incident as "a little complication between the United States and Japan, which won't amount to anything." Again he calls it "the little Japanese flurry, which will soon blow over."

Such a reference indicates a complete misunderstanding of what has taken place. A most discouraging feature of the whole affair is the flippancy and ignorance shown by many papers of influence. A nation of first rank has been grossly, intentionally and deeply insulted. The insult was not justified by anything that had taken place. Newspapers, however, failed to use their editorial influence in the direction of quieting and reducing public excitement over the matter. Many of them added fuel to the flame. Paper after paper sought for special matter which would keep the feeling at high tension and nourish hostility. Thus the very paper in which the editorial references quoted appeared is about to launch a whole series of the foolish "Togo Schoolboy Letters"—the effect of which will only be to develop contempt and hatred on the part of readers.

Precisely what does Ambassador Hanihara say in the passage which has caused so much excitement and agitation? It is a letter to Secretary Hughes, in other words, a communication especially privileged as a document of the state department. It was not intended for publication nor for presentation to Congress. In such a document an Ambassador discussing a matter of serious importance to the two nations must speak with complete and entire frankness. The passage reads as follows:

> Relying upon the confidence you have been good enough to show me at all times, I have stated, or, rather, repeated, all this to you very candidly, and in a most friendly spirit, for I realize as I believe you do, the grave consequences which the enactment of the measure retaining that particular provision would inevitably bring upon the otherwise happy and mutually advantageous relations between our two countries.

There is nothing in this statement that breathes of war. There is nothing which might not with perfect propriety appear in such a document. There is no dictation to our country as to what it should do in regard to its own affairs. It is the simple statement of a fact.

There is no question that "grave consequences" will follow. Without consideration, without due deliberation, the Senate has acted in the matter. The damage is done. The results will be felt through many years to come. Japan has no intention of going to war—had none in making this statement through its Ambassador.

But the Japanese are a highly sensitive people with long memories. They would be less than human, and more than human, if they did not keenly feel the insult and if they did not show the effect of it for a long time to come.

There has been between ourselves and Japan a friendship of 70 years' duration. On our part that friendship has been marred by suspicion, jealousy, and fear. On the part of Japan, it has been extraordinarily genuine, continuous, and frank. That country has had the greatest admiration and highest respect for the United States. She was unquestionably the best friend we had among the nations. It is distinctly of grave consequence for that friendliness to be marred by this ill-advised act.

Thoughtful people begin to express themselves in regard to the matter. We shall have more and more expressions as time passes. Suggestive of what may be expected is the action reported in papers of April 18.

> New York, April 17.—A resolution deploring the action of Congress in abrogating without formal conference the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" for the exclusion of Japanese immigration was adopted today by the executive committee of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

One can easily see why the Mission Board of a great denomination appreciates that "grave consequences" may follow. In a few days we shall have similar regrets more or less openly expressed by other bodies of influential citizens who will realize that grave consequences may be expected in other than missionary and religious fields. Senators Colt, Sterling, MacLaren and Warren will find themselves sustained by an overwhelming public opinion.

It will take time for us to realize just what we have done, but when we do we will pray that it may be a long time before the United States Senate suffers from another so serious an attack of hysteria.

—*Frederick Starr.*

(*To be continued.*)

# My Jail Experiences

IV

"We do not make any distinction between political and other prisoners. Surely you do not want any such distinction to be made in your favor?" Thus said Sir George Lloyd when he visited the Yerawada Jail about the end of the last year. He said that in reply to an inadvertent use made by me of the adjective "political." I ought to have known better. For I was fully aware of the Governor's distaste for that word. And yet strange to say the history tickets of most of us were marked "political." When I remarked upon the anomaly, I was told by the then Superintendent that the distinction was private and was intended only for the guidance of the authorities. We the prisoners were to ignore it, for we could not base any claim upon it.

I have reproduced Sir George Lloyd's language word for word so far as I can remember. There is a sting about what Sir George Lloyd said. And it was so gratuitous. For he knew that I was asking for no favors and no distinction. Circumstances have brought about a general discussion. But the idea was to tell me "You are no better than the rest in the eye of the law and the

administration." And yet the painful inconsistency was that the very time that the distinction was, without any occasion for it, combated in theory, it was made in practice. Only in the majority of cases, it was made against the political prisoners.

As a matter of fact it is impossible to avoid making distinctions. If the human factor were not ignored, it would be necessary to understand a prisoner's habits of life, and model his life accordingly in the prisons. It is not a question of distinguishing between rich men and poor men or educated and uneducated, but between modes of life in which these antecedents have developed. As against the inevitable recognition of the existing fact, it has been urged that the men who commit crimes should know that the law is no respector of persons, and that it is the same to the law whether a rich man or a graduate or a laborer commits theft. This is a perversion of a sound law. If it is really the same to the law as it should be, each will get the treatment according to his capacity for suffering. To give thirty stripes to a delicately built thief and as many to an able-bodied one, would be not impartiality but vindictiveness towards the delicate one and probably indulgence to the able-bodied. Similarly to expect, say, Pundit Motilalji to sleep on a rough coir-mat spread on hard floor is additional punishment, not equality of treatment.

If the human factor was introduced into the administration of the jails, the ceremony on admission would be different from what it is today. Finger impressions would undoubtedly be taken, a record of past offences would find its place in the register. But there will be in addition particulars about the prisoner's habits and mode of life. Not distinction but classification is perhaps the word that better describes the necessary method which the authorities, if they would treat prisoners as human beings, must recognize. Some kind of classification there already is. For instance, there are circles wherein prisoners are housed in batches in long cells. Then there are the separate single cells intended for dangerous criminals. There are solitary cells where prisoners undergoing solitary confinement are locked. There are again the condemned cells in which are locked prisoners awaiting the gallows. Lastly there are cells for under-trial prisoners. The reader will be surprised to find that political prisoners were mostly confined in the separate division or the solitary. In some cases they were confined in condemned cells. Let me not do an injustice to the authorities. Those who do not know these divisions and cells may form the impression that the condemned cells, for instance, must be specially bad. Such, however, is not the case. The cells are all well-constructed and airy so far as Yerawada jail is concerned. What is however open to strong objection is the association about these cells.

The classification being, as I have shown, inevitable and in existence, there is no reason why it should not be scientific and human. I know that revision of classification according to my suggestion means a revolution in the whole system. It undoubtedly means more expense and a different type of men to work the new system. But additional expense will mean economy in the long run. The greatest advantage of the proposed revolution would no doubt be a reduction in the crimes and reformation of the prisoners. The jails would then be reformatories, returning to society sinners as its reformed and respectable members. This may be a far-off event. If we were not under the spell of a long-lived custom we should not find it difficult task to turn our prisons into reformatories.

Let me quote here a pregnant remark made by one of the jailors. He once said, "When I admit search or report prisoners, I often ask myself whether I am a better man than most of them. God knows, I have been guilty of worse crimes than what some have come here for. The difference is that these poor men have been detected whereas I am not." Is not what the good jailor confessed true of many of us? Is it not true that there are more undetected than detected crimes? Society does not point the finger of scorn at them. But habit has made us look askance at those who are not smart enough to escape detection. Imprisonment often makes them hardened criminals.

The animal treatment commences on arrest. The accused are in theory assumed to be innocent unless they are found guilty. In practice the demeanor of those in charge of them is one of haughtiness and contempt. A convicted man is lost to society. The atmosphere in the prison inures him to the position of inferiority.

Political prisoners do not as a rule succumb to this debilitating atmosphere because they, instead of responding to the depressing atmosphere, act against it and therefore even refine it to a certain extent. Society, too, refuses to regard them as criminals. On the contrary they become heroes and martyrs. Their sufferings in the jail are exaggerated by the public. And such indulgence in many cases even demoralizes the political prisoners. But unfortunately, exactly in proportion to the indulgence of the public, is the strictness, mostly unwarranted, of the officials. The Government regard the political prisoners as more dangerous to society than the ordinary prisoner. An official seriously contended that a political prisoner's crime placed the whole society in danger whereas an ordinary crime harmed only the criminal.

Another official told me that the reason why the political prisoners were isolated and denied newspapers, magazines, etc., was to bring the guilt home to them. Political prisoners, he said, seemed to glory in "imprisonment." The deprivation of liberty, while it afflicted the ordinary criminal, left the political prisoner unmoved. It was therefore, he added, but natural that the Government should devise some other method of punishment; hence, he said, the denial of facilities which otherwise such prisoners should undoubtedly have. The remarks were made in connection with my request for the *Times of India* weekly, or the *Indian Social Reformer,* or the *Servant of India,* or *Modern Review* or *Indian Review.* Let the reader not regard this deprivation as a light penalty for those who regard the newspaper as a necessity in no way inferior to breakfast. I dare say that Mr. Majli would not have suffered mental derangement, if he had been allowed the use of newspapers. It is equally depressing for one who is not like me a reformer for all occasions, to be put with dangerous criminals as almost all the political prisoners were put in Yerawada. It is no light thing to be in the company of those who never speak but to utter foul language or whose conversation is as a rule indecent. I could understand political prisoners being put in such surroundings, if the Government sanely took them in their confidence and used them to exercise a wholesome influence on the ordinary criminal. This however is, I admit, not a practical proposition. My contention is that the placing of politi-

cal prisoners in unwholesome surroundings is an additional and an unwarranted punishment. They ought to be put in a separate division and given a treatment in keeping with their antecedents.

I hope civil resisters will not misunderstand this or any other chapter in which I have advocated reforms of prisons. It would ill become a civil resister to resent whatever inconvenience he may be subjected to. He is out to put up with the roughest treatment. If the treatment is humane, it is well; but it is also well if it be otherwise.

*Young India.* —*Mahatma Gandhi.*

# Children Pioneers

Fifty children, with their teachers, have dug themselves into the prairie along the river Volga, and are creating for themselves a living and an education. There have been men and women pioneers before, who have wrestled with new land and made it yield, but these are children pioneers fourteen years old. They have named themselves the John Reed Colony, after John Reed, who was also a pioneer, first in Oregon and then in Russia.

It is a wonderful story of achievement—what they have done in the single year since the government gave them the lands of an old monastery near Kvalinsk. When I went down last September to see the plans, I thought them impossible. Here was a beautiful location in the hills, with dozens of old wooden houses falling to ruin. The orchard was also old and badly in need of care. The arable land was at least five miles away and in many different pieces. How Russian, I thought, to try to start a model children's colony in a place like this! How utterly impracticable for farming!

Yet they started. They had to. They were fourteen years old and the government in Moscow, pressed by younger children's need, could no longer afford to keep them. It gave them the land and a little food—not enough food even till next harvest. The local county government loaned them horses for autumn plowing, and another government department gave them seed. Ten instructors joined themselves to the group. They were not teachers as we know them in America. They were a blacksmith and a shoemaker and a carpenter—for these children needed first of all to make their own beds and shoes and tools.

They made them. Fifty little woden beds with sack mattresses of straw were put up by the children, and larger beds for adults, and two visitors' rooms, looking out over the river. They learned leather-working and made all their own shoes. They made their own garden tools, crude things, but sufficient. Out of some bolts of lining given by the Quakers, the girls made skirts and blouses. But the boys—the boys are still dressed in ragged American street-costumes, from an old clothes donation, including some worn out clergyman's clothing. I kindly forbore to tell these young communists that it was a clergyman's costume they wore while digging up the soil. They were heroic, stalwart scarecrows.

Yes, the land they plow is several miles away. So, peasant fashion, they set off with their horses and plows and teacher, prepared to spend several days without shelter. They dig a pit in the ground and bed themselves down with straw, all together for warmth. In this way they plant a harvest which will feed next winter two hundred children. For so they plan to expand.

Two months ago the school council voted to fire the cook, since the girls were now adequate to do all this work, in additional to all laundry and milking and cleaning. They voted to fire the miller in the little mill, since the boys themselves can now run it, grinding grain for the peasants and taking their share in food.

The largest single gift of money this school has had (aside from the government supplies and teachers' wages) was one hundred dollars which I sent them last Christmas for a celebration. But how did they celebrate? The school council which consists of children and teachers together, voted to send the manager to Siberia to buy horses. He beat his way fourth class and on freights, and brought back five horses, which cost $20 each in Siberia, but $80 in the famine-devastated province of Kvalinsk. Two they kept; the rest they traded to peasants for cows, chickens, pigs and extra food through the winter. They got $300 worth of stuff for that $100 clear capital. My only fear is that our clever manager will be mobilized to manage Russian industry; he shows such promise!

They sent me up a list of the things they wanted. It is amazing how well they manage on how little. They want a medicine chest, with quinine, iodine, sulphur ointment, and the simple things needed in a rough, new land. The things that we in cities go out easily and buy at a corner drug store, but that pioneers in all generations have done without, suffering agonies of malaria or of itch or of infected wounds, for want of the simple remedies.

They asked for tools, knives for leather-cutting and a lathe. And pruning knives and saws for their orchard. And a flat-iron! All winter they have washed clothes, but not ironed them! And they want paints and papers, for the first thing the Russian learns, after making a living, is art! And they want $40 for four beehives, for an old bee-keeper offers to sell out to them and give them free instruction.

They were more sensible than I was. Last autumn when I visited Kvalinsk and saw what were the difficulties, I saw also the chance of a fine estate down the river. Instead of walking miles in different directions to scattered plots of land, there is one big piece of a thousand acres, an old grand duke's estate with fine barns and many houses. The government would give it to them for nothing, if they had the means to run it. But they lacked the $5,000 which would keep the place going till harvest. After the first harvest it would support a thousand children.

I thought it a pity to start until they could "start right." But they were wiser than I. They started. And they have made their way. Not only are they making a living; they are getting an education, by knowing what they need to learn and by dragging it out of teachers who know. They are building themselves a home.

One night, in the little pit of straw on the open field, the boys began to question their teacher. "Will you

send us away when we are sixteen, as they do in the city children's homes?"

"No, this is a working colony. We will not send you away."

"But after that, we shall be twenty years old even."

"Even so, we will not send you away."

"But if we should want to get married."

"Then we can build an extra room for you. You can stay here or go to the city to work as you choose."

"But this will always be home?"

"Yes, this will always be home."

They are still hoping that from somewhere will come money to take the fine estate down river, and to let in the scores of children who come drifting to them down the Volga, drawn by the news of the John Reed Colony. And to make a really efficient farm, a model to the peasants. I am hoping, too, that they will get this. But meantime they have gone ahead, without waiting.

There are hundreds of thousands of pioneer children like these in Russia. *Anna Louise Strong.*

*Moscow, May 5, 1924.*

(1) [After reading this story, by my daughter, of the children of the John Reed Colony, and her words to me in a personal note, "I really want very much to put this property on its feet," I said to myself, "It looks to me as if we'd have to get that $5,000. But where?"

A few brief conversations led me to cable her June 4th: "Mailing $500. More follows." Then I decided to print the story; send it to friends—and let it speak for itself. Maybe, it will say to one $5, to another $50, possibly to another $500. Still others may introduce it to friends or publish it.

Apart from the humanitarian appeal, the Colony as an experiment in self-support and in education seems to me to be of high value.

Those moved to give may send a check to me. I will forward it to my daughter. She will hand it to the treasurer of the Colony. Receipts will be given by all three.—Sydney Strong, 508 Garfield St., Seattle.]

(2) [I agree with Mr. Strong — we must get that $5,000! Wouldn't it be "great" if some bachelor or widower, some man without children but with a father's heart, would adopt this whole family. But we can all help in some way, can't we? —J. H. H.]

## CORRESPONDENCE

### DR. JORDAN ON JAPAN

Editor UNITY:

In UNITY for June 12 is a letter from a representative of the Korean Commission at Washington, in which he demurs to certain statements made by me in a previous number of UNITY.

There is some confusion involved in our use of the word Japan. Japanese administrations rise and fall with some frequency, and the Army and Navy are still more or less independent entities, not subject to civil authority as they are *nominally* in other civilized nations. After the Russian war the military clans were dominant. But the feeling of intelligent Japan was steadily turning against the vast expenditures of money and energy these interests demanded. The Navy group accepted the situation, the Army group "fought with their backs against the wall," and as your correspondent truthfully observes, the real Japan is "struggling desperately against militarism."

As to the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," there has not been a *single concrete* case, actual or alleged, of its violation by any of the successive ministries in Japan. That it has been treated merely "as a joke," by certain agitators without experience in telling the truth, is unfortunately true. The sting in the matter lies in the fact that unverified statements accusing successive governments of bad faith are apparently accepted without investigation or verification by both parties in Congress in spite of the too mild protests of the chosen leader of the dominant group.

The question of exclusion is in no sense the issue. It has been a fact accomplished for sixteen years, acceptable on both sides, and only awaited our consent to be embodied in a formal treaty. The sole visible purpose of recent anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific Coast has been to maintain an open sore for use in local politics. Questions of immigration are mainly, but never wholly, domestic, but the question of discrimination among aliens or immigrants is a matter of international interest, and, as such, the initiative at least should rest with the Administration.

The main issue is not "the sensitiveness of Japan," nor of her "demands" on us, for she has made none, but our own humiliation at the disclosure of our own weakness and lack of courtesy in dealing with foreign affairs.

Korean affairs have no bearing on the present issue. The problem has three sides, none of them above cavil.

Yours very sincerely,
DAVID STARR JORDAN.

### HEALING AGAIN!

Editor UNITY:

For several years we have read your clean, uplifting magazine. It has always stood for progress and tolerance. One could read it and feel there were still more than one prophet in Israel.

Now that a body of men have decided spiritual healing is not a function of the church, in agreement with your belief, you strike out at it as though these men were fully qualified to render just judgment.

You spoke differently on the "Peace Commission" held in Washington last year. From the first you had no hopes of anything being accomplished, for the men called to that conference were all the leaders of the war and not in favor of peace, so why expect such men to find the way to peace? So with this committee to decide on spiritual healing. If they knew anything of it, they would be doing the work; but they are surgeons, M. D.'s and ministers, who did not believe in spiritual healing. If a minister is not capable of healing spiritually he would naturally be against it; otherwise he would see he was not living up to his duty and privilege, and none would expect surgeons or doctors to decide there was a better way than theirs. When they find the better way (and *many* of them do) they cease to be surgeons and doctors. And the same with ministers. They cease to be *orthodox* ministers at least.

There are many healings recorded in the Old Testament, and the New is full of them. You yourself teach spiritual healing (mind healing); you try to lift the mind to a higher level of understanding; by so doing, it betters the material surroundings. If you could show a thief or a liar it were *better* to be honest, they would be healed of their sins. So if the sick can be made to understand the truth, they can be healed of their sickness. For there is no limit to the powers of truth. Jesus said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." If truth cannot heal sickness as well as sin, it cannot make free entirely. I have depended on truth alone for 20 years, and know of all manner of diseases being healed. So you can imagine how I felt when I read your tirade on spiritual healing in an editorial, Jan. 24th. I said it was ignorance that persecuted Christ, Socrates, Savonarola, Galileo, Huss, and all the martyrs. Their persecutors also had company and *felt* they were on the "right side," too. "If healing of the body is not a proper aim of religion at all, then Jesus and his disciples must not have taught us what religion was for, for we read that Jesus healed the bodies of the lepers, of the woman with an issue of blood, the man with the withered arm, one of palsy, the blind and the deaf and dumb; raised the bodies of the widow's son, of Jairus' daughter, and of Lazarus.

Paul raised Eutycus' dead body, healed a man lame from birth, and others. Peter raised Dorcas' body, and healed Aeneas, kept in bed eight years of palsy, and others. Why go on? There are many, many healings recorded, and we read the body is to be redeemed; also, "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service;" also "I pray God your whole spirit, soul, and *body* be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." If men choose to believe the Christ is inefficient today, they reap the reward of such belief, for he said, "Lo: I am with you alway even unto the end of the world"; and "He that believeth on me, the works that I do he shall do also."

I know of no school that teaches spiritual healing that says bodily healing is its highest aim. (That is for the surgeons and M. D.'s.) We understand that bodily health is a *natural* result of spiritual healing. And the last cut is the unkindest of all. "The *so-called* spiritual healer is next to the libertine."

I love and appreciate all the good I find, but that is not like UNITY. I know you are fair enough to give both sides a hearing.

CORA DYE.

## THE FIELD

*"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"*

### THE WAR AGAINST WAR

We have recently printed in this column the remarkable anti-war Resolutions passed by (1) the Methodist Committee on the State of the Church, (2) the Methodist General Conference, (3) the Presbyterian General Assembly, (4) the Pacific Coast Unitarian Conference, and others. To these we now add the following Resolutions recently passed by other church bodies. The war against war is *on!*—J. H. H.

I.

The Congregationalists of southern California, while in session in San Diego, May 12-14, adopted this resolution on war:

As followers of Christ we recognize our loyalty to him as supreme and sanctifying every other loyalty.

We therefore declare our opposition to the war system, involving war propaganda, war preparations, military training in our schools and colleges, race prejudice, economic exploitation, and religious intolerance as inconsistent with Christ's spirit and example.

We urge upon our government to cooperate with other nations in outlawing war as contrary to the Christian spirit.

We announce that we cannot conscientiously take part in propaganda or preparations looking toward war.

We encourage the development of our educational system to educate for peace rather than war, and the development of the spirit and the creation of the international machinery for the application of reason and good will to disputes that might lead to war.

We believe it a paramount duty of our churches to promote the program of Jesus for peace on earth and good will toward men among nations as well as among individuals.

II.

The resolution adopted by the Congregational Conference of Illinois on May 8 put the issue in this form:

"1. We believe that the continuance of the war system as an established part of modern civilization is, in its very nature and results, anti-Christian because anti-social; and that the time has come when it must be outlawed the same as slavery and the liquor traffic.

"2. The Conference stands for open diplomacy between nations and for an International Court of Justice to interpret and apply international law in order that world peace may be secured and maintained as humanity's need and right.

"3. We also stand for the most thorough-going education of the youth of our country in the principles of peace and international relations.

"4. We further believe that America should be among the leaders in securing an international covenant of peace, whereby all peoples through their representatives shall subscribe to the things which make for universal goodwill.

"5. We rejoice in the apparent success of the Dawes Commission in preparing an adequate plan for the solution of the vexed problem of reparations and we heartily commend the proposal of President Coolidge to call an international conference looking toward further disarmament.

"6. We are opposed to the whole war-system—its secret treaties, military alliances, unjust economic concessions, competitive 'preparedness' programs—and in no way will we participate in such movements as history has conclusively shown lead to war.

"7. No complex problem is ever rightly solved apart from full and free discussion. Prejudice and persecution not only prevent the discovering of the way to peace but they are chief factors in creating war. We therefore call upon all men of varying thoughts concerning this matter, to practice the spirit of Christ in order that they may learn the mind of Christ and may unite effectively in behalf of the principles stated in the preceding paragraphs, about which there seems to be general agreement among us."

III.

A long resolution adopted by the annual convention of Congregationalists at Woodstock on May 15 contained these paragraphs:

We believe that the time has come for the church of Christ to do more than take sides on tremendous questions which involve prosperity or disaster, life or death, for civilization and the world. She is summoned to lead the way, to make a side of her own. We believe that true Christianity must go further than proffer suggestions to the secular powers; it ought to claim the right "to challenge, to penetrate, and to transform the whole social order." We believe that the Christian should rise up in his place and speak out in unmistakable accents, according to the way of Jesus as best he can interpret it, what he will stand for—and what he will not stand for, in all social and political affairs.

1. In order to prepare the public mind for the right moral judgment upon war and to arouse the lofty passion of the people's conscience against it we shall undertake through preaching and teaching, in the pulpit and out of it, in the church, school and other educational agencies, to make known the real facts about war, as the truth has been and is being told by first-hand witnesses, and not under the gloss of appeals for patriotism and "my country, right or wrong."

2. In season and out of season it is our purpose to insist that war is not inevitable, that if man has been by nature a fighting animal the time has fully come for man to slough off his old nature and become the new spiritual man in Christ Jesus, and that the establishment of permanent peace among nations and peoples is no idle dream but an attainable goal in this generation.

3. We pledge ourselves to do our part to remove the causes of war:

(a) By studying them and becoming intelligent about them; (b) By going to the full limit of practicing the Christian principles we have avowed, of justice, good will and brotherhood, not tolerating in ourselves racial feeling or that spirit of nationalism which disesteems any other nations and countries, and working for such changes by progressive steps in the industrial and economic organization of society at large as shall uproot the incentives for selfish trade rivalries and commercial exploitation and put the Golden Rule concretely into national legislation and international policy; (c) By encouraging and supporting specifically the various agencies which are now in operation or may be devised to explain the causes of war and prevent it.

4. We believe that the United States should participate in the World Court of International Justice and we will use our influence to bring about this participation. Recognizing frankly that there has been an honest difference of political opinion among us regarding our entrance into the League of Nations, we maintain now that this issue should be lifted out of the sphere of partisan debate, and decided on the highest ground; and we are persuaded that America owes to the other countries of the world the fullest co-operation in perfecting a world organization in which this government and people shall be an active member in the interest of peace and prosperity for all mankind.

5. But there is a further step to take, and we are ready for it with full understanding of its significance and with solemn and intense purpose. Without undertaking to dictate to the individual his course of action as a citizen of the state in case of war, we nevertheless affirm that it is the duty of the Christian church to excommunicate war—to declare it for what it is, sinful in the extreme and utterly contrary to the mind of Christ, never again to apologize for it, bless it or


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give it official sanction. Moreover, we urge upon our government to take the initiative in proposing through international organization to put war under the ban of outlawry, to make war henceforth a crime to be visited with penalties befitting so great a crime in the person of that nation or of individuals within a nation that may be guilty of instigating it.

IV.

**Passed by Presbyterian Women's Synodical Conference.**

While our conference has been largely devoted to the consideration of problems of organizations, we have seen more clearly than ever before that the missionary enterprise is closely bound up with the great world problems of race and of peace. We, as Christian women, wish to express our conviction in the following resolutions:

Recognizing racial differences but not racial inequality; believing that each race has its unique contribution to make in building up the kingdom of God on the earth; and realizing that all racial antipathy and prejudice is a denial of the principles and practice of Christian brotherhood, be it resolved that we individually and as organizations, strive sincerely to learn the mind of Jesus Christ in all problems of race; and that we attempt courageously to walk and live in that attitude, dedicating our best powers of mind and of spirit to the eradication of race discrimination.

Believing that war is antagonistic to the spirit and method and teaching of Jesus Christ; that it is sinfully destructive of human and economic values; and that further war will be suicidal to the continuation of civilization, be it resolved that we give ourselves and all our powers to building up a world of good will, mutual confidence and co-operation.

To this end we commit ourselves to an aggressive educational program which shall strike at the causes of war by eliminating race prejudices and social and economic injustices; that we dedicate ourselves as home makers to teach and live peace, and to set ourselves against the glorification of war; as members of the community to exemplify Christian tolerance and active good will; as citizens to stand against the acquisitive motive and all policies of selfish nationalism; as members of the church of Christ to commit ourselves whole-heartedly to the establishment of the reign throughout the world of the prince of peace.


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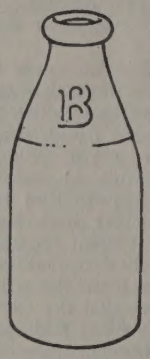

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